

# **FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN**

*An interpretation of current international events  
by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association*

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## **Congress Queries Truman Military Proposals**

WASHINGTON—The immediate goal of the Truman administration today remains what it was when the President enunciated the Truman Doctrine a year ago, namely, to check the political influence of the Soviet Union. This goal, however, appears to the President and his advisers increasingly difficult to achieve. The disappointments of the past twelve months brought the United States last week to a new turning-point in foreign policy. This country will now base its international program on a combination of the European Recovery Program and rearmament.

### **Increase in Armed Force**

The turning-point was revealed on March 17 in the message President Truman addressed to Congress, and in the comments Secretary of State George C. Marshall subsequently made to the Senate Armed Services Committee. The President asked for re-enactment of the draft law, inoperative since 1946, as well as enactment of the military training program which he had previously sought. Secretary Marshall said that "a reconsideration of our air program is also necessary." Until that moment, the United States had used what military power it possessed as an adjunct to diplomacy in the Mediterranean, and military considerations had dominated diplomacy in some other areas. Official statements, however, had consistently emphasized that the ERP and the UN should be the chief instruments for realizing foreign policy aims. Truman's address to Congress apparently rested on the conclusion that economic assistance and the UN are inadequate for our present pur-

poses, although the President made it clear that the passage of the ERP, still pending before Congress, was an "essential" feature of the policy he advocated.

On the following day Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal asked the Senate Armed Services Committee not only to enact the draft, in order to supply the 350,000 men which the armed services need to fill their legal quotas, but to increase the statutory size of the army, navy, and air force above the present authorized strength. The men in the armed services now number 1,392,000, and those in the national guard and reserves total 2,156,000. According to government spokesmen, the proposed increases are not intended to foment war. "We are sincerely anxious to find a sound basis for reaching agreement which will terminate once and for all the present dangerous situation," Secretary Marshall said on March 19. Great political skill, however, will be required to conduct a rearmament program in such a way as to restore peace to a nervous world.

The effectiveness of our rearmament proposal as a bulwark of foreign policy actually depends on whether it convinces Europeans that the United States will go to war to halt the advance of Russia and communism, and on whether the prospect of American military action will immobilize the Soviet Union. Reports, naturally not subject to confirmation, circulate in Washington that Russia would stand aloof if the United States or another Western state became involved in war with one of the Eastern European nations, notably

Yugoslavia, with which the United States has been at odds respecting Italy, Trieste, and Greece.

### **Congress and Rearmament**

While official statements of the past week have aroused American opinion, they have left Congress still unconvinced that new drastic measures in support of foreign policy are necessary. Although President Truman in his message said that "rapid changes are taking place in Europe which affect our foreign policy and our national security," Senators and Representatives complain that neither he nor Secretary Marshall defined national security or explained the exact points at which it is endangered. In this mood of doubt, only 31 of 91 Senators polled by the Associated Press on March 20 stated that they favored the draft. To gain further insight into the true nature of the danger, the Armed Services Committee requested Secretaries Marshall and Forrestal to elucidate their information.

The thought of the November elections inspires caution among members of Congress, and not all are persuaded that the maintenance of a political stalemate in Europe by military means would contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace. But after a closed session with Secretary Marshall on March 22, the committee was reported to have agreed that UMT and the draft were "absolutely necessary." Meanwhile, House leaders are speeding the passage of the ERP in advance of the anxiously awaited Italian elections.

BLAIR BOLLES

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# ***U. S. Shift on Palestine Disheartens U. N. Supporters***

Following President Truman's address to Congress on March 17, the Western powers made two important moves to counteract Russia. On March 19 the United States, reversed the position it had taken in the UN General Assembly last November, when it advocated partition of Palestine and urged other nations to follow its lead. Washington now proposes suspension of the partition plan, summoning of a special session of the General Assembly, and establishment by the Assembly of a "temporary" UN trusteeship for the Holy Land, to give Jews and Arabs a "further opportunity" to agree. On March 20 the United States, Britain and France announced through a joint statement that they had proposed to the Soviet Union and to Italy that the Free Territory of Trieste be returned to Italian sovereignty. On the same day, in Turin, French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, who had gone to Italy for the purpose of signing the recently drafted Franco-Italian customs union, read this statement to an Italian audience in the presence of Italy's Foreign Minister, Count Carlo Sforza. It was also reported that, within the next two weeks (that is, before the Italian elections), the Western powers would issue a declaration favoring trusteeship by Italy over some at least of its former African colonies, now being administered by Britain pending a final decision by the Big Four. Since Russia had already indicated willingness to return the African colonies to Italy, it would appear that all the great powers which fought the Italians during the war are vying with each other to win the support of Italian voters.

## ***Confusion on Palestine***

Public reaction to Washington's decision on the Palestine issue ranged from deep gloom among Jews as well as in the UN Secretariat to restrained joy on the part of the Arabs. Speaking for Russia, which had sided with the United States last autumn in supporting partition, Mr. Gromyko described the American proposal as a

"contradiction." Spokesmen for the Jewish Agency declared that a Jewish state was already in *de facto* existence, and that the reversal of Washington's policy could not alter the existing situation. Some of them indicated that the Jews in Palestine would seek an agreement with Palestine Arabs. Spokesmen for the Arab states declared that, while they welcomed the decision of the United States, they would not agree to a Palestine "trusteeship" except for a brief period. Britain persisted in its determination to leave Palestine by May 15, but there were hints that it might consider a proposal to remain in that troubled country as trustee for the UN—with the United States, presumably, meeting the expenses of British civilian and military administration.

In Washington a number of Congressmen denounced the Administration's decision as a "sell-out" and "a betrayal." Senator Taft took the view that trusteeship, like partition, would require the use of military force by the UN. Members of the UN Secretariat expressed the opinion that failure to implement the Palestine recommendation of the General Assembly, which involved the principal organs of the UN, spelled the doom of the international organization. The *New York Times* pointed out editorially that all the facts adduced by the United States in justification of its policy reversal had been known last November. Some critics, both here and abroad, attributed the reversal to Washington's fear that Russia might take advantage of Britain's withdrawal from Palestine to spread its influence in the Near and Middle East, and to the concern of American military leaders over possible loss of access to the oil resources of that region, controlled by the Arabs.

## ***Will Trieste Change Hands?***

The joint statement of the Western powers favoring return of Trieste to Italy aroused jubilation among the Italians, who had not become reconciled to the post-war loss of this territory of 450 square

miles, with an important Adriatic port and a mixed population of Italians and Slavs. Observers believed that the Western move was inspired by the failure of the Big Four to agree on a governor of Trieste; by fear that Yugoslavia might take advantage of the world crisis to seize unilateral control of an area that, according to the Italian peace treaty, was to have been administered under the aegis of the UN; and by the desire to strengthen anti-Communists in Italy on the eve of the April 18 national elections. Some critics expressed anxiety that the Trieste statement would provide the spark that would set off an armed conflict in the Mediterranean. A few suggested the Western powers were deliberately seeking to provoke an incident that might bring about war now, when Russia is relatively weak. Others predicted that, even if a flare-up with Yugoslavia occurred, it would prove to be a local conflict, and that Russia, which, it is believed, does not want war at the present time, would refrain from intervening on behalf of its Balkan ally. On March 22 Yugoslavia, not consulted by the Western powers, denounced the proposal about Trieste as an electioneering move, but renewed its offer to return Trieste to Italy if Gorizia, now Italian, were ceded to Yugoslavia.

The Western actions on Palestine and Trieste were interpreted here and abroad as abandonment of the policy of mere "containment" of Russia in favor of a policy of positive steps calculated to bring about a showdown with Russia. Washington, it is believed, hopes that the Soviet government will either decide to retreat from the advanced position it reached as a result of the Czechoslovak coup, or will unmistakably reveal a determination to pursue its objectives by military means, thus bringing about military counter-measures on the part of the Western powers.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

# ***Communists in Italy Pose Complex Problems for U. S.***

No elections in post-war Europe have occasioned as much concern in Washington as those scheduled to be held in Italy on April 18. On March 17 President Truman had revealed to the special session of Congress his fear that Italy might pass

under Communist control. Such a development, he indicated, would be another example of Russia's "ruthless course of action" which, he declared, is responsible for the critical situation in Europe today.

The President failed to state, however,

what the United States would do in the event that the Communist-left-wing Socialist bloc comes to power in Italy. In the first place, he presumably felt that he could not bind Congress to a definite course of action which might conceivably

lead to the use of American troops abroad. Secondly, he realized that since the Communist threat to Italy may take any one of several different forms, it is exceedingly difficult to devise in advance measures for dealing with it.

While the possibility is recognized in Washington that the Leftist bloc will stage a clearly illegal coup before or after the elections, it is believed more likely that it will seek to give its actions the guise of legality. Assuming that this latter strategy is followed, the left-wing groups may be expected to concentrate on winning the largest possible number of votes at the polls, with the aim of securing key cabinet posts from which they would then be able to infiltrate the government. If the Communists and their allies thus succeed in gaining power by parliamentary means, the United States will find itself in an admittedly embarrassing position, for it has not yet worked out any technique to deal with antidemocratic groups which exploit democratic procedures for their own ends.

The problem posed by the Italian Communists would, of course, be greatly simplified if this country had definite proof that Russia is interfering in Italy's electoral campaign. At present, Washington is receiving conflicting reports concerning the presence of Soviet agents in Italy and the free distribution of Russian-supplied food by the Communists in a number of small towns. There is at least circumstantial evidence that the large supply of newsprint which the Communists have at their disposal is being brought in by boat from Russia, since there appears to be no other available source. The United States hopes that the whole question of Russia's relations with the Italian Communists can be by-passed as a result of an anti-Communist victory at the polls.

### **Clear-Cut Issue**

As the Italian electoral struggle gains in intensity, the fact becomes increasingly clear that the one major issue eclipsing all others is whether Italy will go Communist. The pro-Communist group includes, besides the Communists, the left-wing Socialists led by Pietro Nenni, and a few minor parties, all of which have joined in the formation of the

"People's Bloc." The only effective opposing force is the Christian Democratic party led by Premier Alcide de Gasperi. This party is believed to have been greatly strengthened by the outspoken anti-Communist stand of the Vatican, which is convinced that a Leftist victory would be the prelude to religious persecution.

Since the line is so sharply drawn between pro-Communists and anti-Communists, the campaign for or against the Marshall plan rivals the religious question as an outstanding issue. The Christian Democrats contend that Italy's only hope for economic revival rests on the ERP. In support of this thesis they point out that the United States, not Russia, has kept Italy from starvation since the end of the war. The People's Bloc, on the other hand, charges that Premier de Gasperi has sold Italy out to the United States by cooperating in the ERP.

Although the Leftists attack the ERP, they do not call for the suspension of American aid. On the contrary, they claim that Italy is so vital to American plans in the Mediterranean that a Communist-controlled government in Rome would still receive American aid without fulfilling any of the conditions attached to the ERP. Secretary Marshall sought to demolish this argument when he declared, on March 19, that Italy could not expect to receive assistance of any kind from the United States if it elected a Communist-dominated government. The ERP is proving so popular in Italy that the Leftists find their opposition to it a source of considerable embarrassment. The left-wing Socialists have apparently wavered somewhat in their unqualified opposition to the Marshall plan. But after sending representatives to the International Socialist conference at Sandstead, England, on March 21, members of Pietro Nenni's left-wing group withdrew from the conference discussions when other delegates adopted a firm policy in favor of the ERP. Meanwhile, it is important to bear in mind that economic difficulties in Italy provide fuel for Communist propaganda.

### **Left Shows Strength**

So far there has been only one real preliminary test of political strength of the

contending forces. This test took place on February 15, when municipal elections were held in Pescara, a city half way down the East coast of the Italian boot. In these elections the Leftist coalition obtained 48.6 per cent of the votes against 27.8 per cent for the Christian Democrats, with the remainder scattered among right-wing and center parties. The chief significance of this electoral preview is that it badly jolted many observers who had assumed that Italy would never go Communist because of its Catholic traditions. The very fact that this assumption was so thoroughly shaken has had the effect of stimulating the anti-Communists to greater exertion. The possibility that the People's Bloc may win the right to fill key government positions, however, cannot be discounted. The United States may yet be faced, therefore, by the problem of what its policy should be toward a country which passes into Russia's sphere of influence as a result of at least outwardly democratic procedures.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL

*Tito's Imperial Communism*, by R. H. Markham. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947. \$4.00

The former Balkan correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* contends that Marshal Tito's regime is not only the most ruthlessly exacting centralized government in the history of Yugoslavia, but a threat to Italy and Greece.

*The New Italy: Transition from War to Peace*, by Muriel Grindrod. New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1947. \$1.50

Another of the studies for which Chatham House is noted, the result of sound research combined with journalistic ability.

*Struggle for Germany*, by Russell Hill. New York, Harper, 1947. \$3.00

The author, until recently a correspondent in Germany for the *New York Herald Tribune*, gives a readable account of the policies of the four occupying powers. The basic conflict between Moscow and the Western nations is also discussed, and in the final chapter a possible German settlement is outlined.

*End of a Berlin Diary*, by William L. Shirer. New York, Knopf, 1947. \$3.50

One of our most outspoken liberal-minded journalists, ends his Berlin experiences, with the hope that we may not become involved in a third world war.

*Russia and the Russians*, by Edward Crankshaw. New York, Viking, 1948. \$3.00

An English writer, who served with the British Military Mission to Moscow during the war, gives an unusually penetrating, beautifully written interpretation of the influence of Russian history on the character of the Russian people and Russia's relations with the outside world. More valuable for an understanding of Russia than stacks of "factual" volumes.

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## Program Notes

The Pittsburgh FPA is conducting a series of fifteen broadcasts in cooperation with the International Relations Clubs of the five colleges in the area. FPA director, Dr. J. Warren Nystrom, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, is the regular moderator with selected students and faculty advisers as guest participants. The program is presented from Radio Station WWSW at 8:30 PM each Wednesday. . . .

Volume 1, Number 1, of the monthly *Bulletin* of the Dayton Council on World Affairs has just been published. It contains a community service calendar listing lectures, discussion meetings, films, radio programs and international relations courses sponsored by Dayton organizations. The *Bulletin* is a newsy, informative, three-column publication which effectively presents the story of the growing Dayton Council. . . .

In Cleveland, on April 2 W. W. Waymack, member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, will speak on "Atomic Energy for Peace" at a public meeting sponsored by the Council on World Affairs. On April 12, Professor James K. Pollock, Adviser to General Lucius D. Clay, will talk to the Cleveland Council on "American Policy in Germany." . . .

Each Thursday afternoon at 4:30 PM, the World Affairs Council of Northern California holds "Thursday Open House." Edward Radenzel of the *San Francisco Chronicle* presides. . . .

During the second semester Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, FPA Research Director, is giving a course one day a week in the Regional Program on Russia at Harvard University on *The United States and Russia*. Mrs. Dean, a Radcliffe graduate, is the first woman appointed to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard. In addition to her course, she has spoken recently at the Keene, New Hampshire, Forum, the Women's City Club of New York, the Temple Israel Sisterhood of Boston, and Abbott Academy in Andover.

## Association Meetings

ALBANY, March 30, *America in the Far East*, Owen Lattimore

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, March 31, *European Recovery Program*, Willard Thorp

PITTSBURGH, March 31, *The Peace Stalemate*, Sumner Welles

SYRACUSE, March 31, *India*, Phillips Talbot

SPRINGFIELD, April 3, *Must We Have War With Russia?*, Theodore Waller

COLUMBUS, April 6, *The Future of Freedom*, John Scott

ST. LOUIS, April 9, *The Future of Freedom*, John Scott

## Cincinnati Story

Cincinnati FPA's 8-week membership campaign resulted in 561 new members of whom 217 were students. The community was made aware of the campaign through approximately five solid pages of newspaper publicity, twenty radio programs, and spot radio announcements. In addition, 7,000 individually typed letters, each signed by a Board Member, were sent out, and mimeographed letters over the names of the three members of the Student Membership Committee went to all teachers of the Cincinnati Public School System.

## Forum Postponed

Pressure of the world crisis has brought about a postponement of the international forum, "The Future of Freedom," which was to have been held in New Orleans April 14 to 17. James A. Linen, publisher of *Time* Magazine, and Rudolf Hecht, chairman of the New Orleans Committee, co-sponsors of the forum said in announcing the postponement: "Our discussions with Washington and conversations with government leaders abroad have made it clear that it would not now be fitting for us to press our invitations to the heads of state, foreign ministers, and other government officials of Western Europe on the eve of a crisis as grave as the one looming over their countries today. There is every indication that April will be a period of crisis almost certain to tie gov-

## News in the Making

Philippine President Roxas has formally outlawed the *Hukbalahap*, peasant guerrilla movement of Central Luzon. The Huks, organized to resist the Japanese during the war, differ sharply with the government on agrarian reform and other issues. Roxas calls them "Communistic"—a charge they deny. The prospect: intensification of the government-Huk armed strife of post-war years. . . . Although the Czech government voices hostility towards the West, it is seeking to maintain trade relations with Western countries on a "business as usual" basis. On March 16 the chief of the Czechoslovak delegation to the International Trade Conference in Havana said his country would sign the protocol providing for provisional application of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. . . . *Revolution in Costa Rica* threatens to embroil neighboring Central American countries on the eve of the Bogotá conference. Hostilities broke out March 12, when efforts to determine peaceably the results of the February elections ended in failure. The Picado government, supported by Communist-led irregulars, is reported to have called on Honduras and Nicaragua for aid, at the same time protesting against alleged Guatemalan aid to the opposition forces.

ernment leaders to their desks abroad."

The FPA's annual spring meeting of the Council of Branches and Affiliates which was to be held in conjunction with the New Orleans-*Time* Magazine Forum, has consequently been changed to FPA Headquarters in New York. The date of this meeting is April 23.

Several local FPAs which had planned April meetings on the subject of the New Orleans Forum, "Misunderstandings in the Non-Russian World," are continuing with their plans. A Discussion Packet has been prepared by FPA in New York on this subject and can be obtained by interested groups for \$1.00 each. This packet will contain a copy of the international survey conducted by *Time* Magazine, and a tabulation of the results.

Sewanee, Tenn.

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